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and institutions continues as rapid as it has been for the last hundred years, it is not easy to imagine in what else it can possibly result. History has its great reactions, we are well aware, but under modern conditions it is difficult to conceive of the present revival of the war spirit continuing for a hundred years, or even for a quarter of that time, with so many powerful agencies of progress opposing it. We expect it — and we think on ample grounds — to be of short duration.

Not only so, but we feel sure that civilized humanity will not much longer tolerate the overgrown, ruinous armaments which have come up out of past conditions of social and international injustice and crime, and are to-day the terror of the world. A great upheaval of popular condemnation of them is sure to come in one way or another before long. With their overthrow will come a wider, more radical and more consistent disapproval of war in every form than has yet been seen. The twentieth century, we cannot help believing, will see these great and glorious things accomplished, and the world far along toward the reign of unbroken peace and loving, active fellowship, about which the great and good of many centuries have dreamed and prophesied. We wish we could see it all. We shall not. But our little day shall at least be filled with the best effort of which we are capable, that those who come after us may know nothing of the curse and shame of war. The twentieth century for peace, universal and permanent, ought to be one of the watchwords of every friend of human good.

Commemorative Meetings.

In view of the considerations advanced in the foregoing article, the American Peace Society, which has now been doing its work for seventy-three years, has not thought it right to let the opening of the century pass by without some special notice of the peace work done during the past century, the remarkable transformation of public sentiment which has taken place, and what has practically been accomplished in the employment of arbitration, instead of war, in the settlement of international disputes. The Society was one of the first agencies to propose the adoption of pacific means in the adjustment of controversies between nations, and more than sixty years ago, as it has done ever since, it vigorously maintained both the desirability and practicability of the establishment of a permanent international tribunal of arbitration.

It has been decided, therefore, by the Directors to devote the 16th of the present month (January) to meetings commemorative of what has been accomplished, and to promote deeper and wider interest in

the cause for the twentieth century. The meetings will be held in Lorimer Hall, Tremont Temple, Boston, at 12 o'clock noon and at 8 o'clock in the evening. All the members of the Society and the friends of the cause of peace and goodwill within reach of Boston are earnestly urged to attend and to help make the day — Wednesday, the 16th inst. — one of strong and wide-reaching influence in the further advancement of arbitration and international peace.

The names of the speakers secured for the meetings give assurance that they will be most interesting and instructive. They are Robert Treat Paine, Dr. Edward Everett Hale, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, William Lloyd Garrison, Herbert Welsh of Philadelphia, Ernest Howard Crosby of New York, Edward Atkinson, John Willis Baer, and Benjamin F. Trueblood. The subjects, as nearly as they can now be formulated, will be: The Accomplishments in Arbitration and Growth of Peace Sentiment the past Century; The Hague Court of Arbitration and What it may be expected to Accomplish; Women's Work for International Peace; the Fundamental Principles of Peace Work; Obstacles to International Arbitration; The Passing of the Soldier; The Demand of Commerce for Peace, and the Interest of Young Men and Young Women in International Brotherhood.

A full stenographic report of the addresses will be given in the February number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. If any of our friends wish to purchase extra copies for distribution in their neighborhoods, they will please let us know at once how many they desire in order that a sufficient number may be printed to supply all demands.

The Permanent International Court of Arbitration.

The President's Message to Congress on the 4th of December contained the following two paragraphs on the organization of the permanent court of arbitration:

"It is with satisfaction that I am able to announce the formal notification at The Hague on September 4 of the deposit of ratifications of the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes by sixteen powers; namely, the United States, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Italy, Persia, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Siam, Spain, Sweden and Norway, and the Netherlands. Japan has also since ratified the convention.

"The administrative council of the permanent court of arbitration has been organized, and has adopted rules of order and a constitution for the international arbitration

bureau. In accordance with Article 23 of the convention, providing for the appointment by each signatory power of persons of known competency in questions of international law as arbitrators, I have appointed as members of this court the Hon. Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, ex-President of the United States; the Hon. Melville W. Fuller of Illinois, Chief Justice of the United States; the Hon. John W. Griggs of New Jersey, Attorney-General of the United States; and the Hon. George Gray of Delaware, a judge of the circuit court of the United States."

Information from other countries shows that the governments consider the constitution of the permanent court of arbitration a matter of the very highest importance, and only men of the first rank are being appointed members. We have already mentioned in a previous issue the names of the men chosen by the Russian and the Dutch governments. On the 7th of December it was announced from London that the Queen had appointed as the British members of the court Lord Pauncefoot, ambassador at Washington; Sir Edward Malet, late British ambassador to Germany; Right Hon. Sir Edward Fry, a former lord justice of the high Court of Appeal; and Prof. John Westlake, professor of international law at Cambridge University.

On the same date it was made public that the Austrian government had named as its members in the court Count Von Schoelborn, Dr. Lammasch, and from Hungary Count Albert Apponyi and Dr. Szalay, former minister of justice. Dr. Lammasch is a professor of high standing in the University of Vienna, and Count Apponyi has been for some time a prominent worker in the Interparliamentary Peace Union. The government of Denmark has chosen, as its representative in the tribunal, Dr. Matzen, professor of law at the University of Copenhagen. Whether Denmark will choose other members is not stated. Dr. Bingner, president of the German high court, Herr von Frantzius, councilor of the foreign office and of the high court, and Professor von Bar of the University of Goettingen have been appointed to the court by the German government. These are all men of the first rank in German juridic circles. France has chosen men of equal eminence, viz., Léon Bourgeois, president of the French Commission to the Hague Conference, one of the most eminent of living French statesmen, Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant, also a delegate to the Hague Conference, a member of the French Chamber of Deputies, Professor Renault, of the Law Faculty of Paris, who was likewise a member of the Hague Conference, and Mr. Delaboulaye.

Further announcements we have not seen at the present writing. The appointments already made render it clear that the governments which took part in the Hague Conference take the matter with entire seriousness, and mean to make the court of arbitration a body worthy of the highest confidence of the world.

It will not be many months until word will be flashed along the wires and cables that some controversy between two nations, perhaps the Alaskan boundary dispute or the question of Chinese indemnity, has been carried up to the bar of this court, and the august tribunal, with less noise than it takes to make a single Maxim gun, will have begun its majestic and mighty course.

However inauspicious may be the commencement of the twentieth century in some respects, it is certainly a source of the greatest encouragement that it opens with the establishment of this high court of nations, manned with the best juridic talent of the time, whose existence and work, it is perfectly judicious to say, will in time change the entire spirit and course of international affairs and deliver us from the chaos and anarchy which now prevail to such an unfortunate extent between the nations.

Mahanism.

Captain A. T. Mahan's position on the subject of war, while not altogether unique, is put forth with enough of his individuality in it to entitle it to be called by his name. Briefly characterized, it is a refined, abstract, idealized gospel of force. It is expounded by him with a grace and elegance of diction,—free from all that is coarse and materialistic in expression, touched at times with a lulling obscurity of phraseology,—sufficient to deceive the very elect among peacemakers. What does he teach?

With him all arguments lead to the necessity, the sacredness of force. War he considers remedial, and hence its instruments, like those of the surgeon, must be of the highest perfection. There are times when all other means are of no avail, when righteousness and human good can be advanced only by the rifle and the Long Tom. In the redemption of the world, so far as this depends on states, force is not only the last argument, but an instrument to be kept always polished and ready. He fears too much arbitration. No nation must bind itself to obligatory arbitration, for that would prevent it at times from being judge in its own cause, and from employing the sacred trust of force which God has put into its hands to be used absolutely according to its own judgment.

In a number of recent articles Captain Mahan has set forth these views. At the close of the Hague Conference in 1899, he wrote for the *North American Review* a long article the main purpose of which was, not to advocate reduction of armaments, or even arbitration of international differences, as one might have expected from a member of that Conference, but to exalt the virtues of force, to plead for its retention as a sacred trust, and to prevent arbitration from going too far.

On the breaking out and development of the Chinese troubles another article comes from his pen,